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ART. IV.—*A Complete History of Connecticut, civil and ecclesiastical, from the emigration of its first Planters from England in 1630, to the year 1764, and to the close of the Indian Wars.* By Benjamin Trumbull, D. D. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1166. New Haven, Maltby, Goldsmith & Co. and Samuel Wadsworth, 1818.

IT is about two centuries since the first landing of our forefathers in this country. Every part of our progress during this period has been rich in materials for history. The posterity of a few persecuted emigrants have become a rich, proud and powerful people. For this remarkable growth, we are not indebted to the accidental advantages of soil and situation, but to the character, habits and institutions of our people, as they were introduced into this country by the first pilgrims, and have been cultivated and improved by their descendants.

The states which have grown up here, have had no exact parallel in any other part of the world. They have been governed by laws, and influenced by principles peculiar to them. They therefore furnish a subject for history of uncommon interest. This history, if faithfully written, will show what influence the principles and institutions of our ancestors have had in promoting our national growth, and in determining our present character and condition. It should clearly point out the laws, habits, and usages to which we are indebted for our prosperity, that they may continue to be sufficiently valued. The labours, sufferings and virtues of our ancestors should be faithfully recorded, that we may be impressed with a proper respect for their memories, and may set a higher value upon the privileges and prospects which they have secured to us. Such a history, if written in a style worthy of the subject,—of the distinguished men it must name, and of the events recorded, when taken in connexion with their important consequences—would be worthy of being studied, not only by our own countrymen, but by the observers of human character and conduct, in all parts of the world.

It ought not to be expected, that this history should exhibit an unmixed series of virtuous actions and laudable exertions. It must be like the annals of every other age and country, the history of the human passions,—often shaded with imper-

fection and error, and sometimes with horrible crimes. It cannot surprise us,—in a period, in which all the actors have been subjected to the closest scrutiny, where their whole conduct, public and private, has been tried by the nicest tests, and where faults have been recorded with greater caution than acts of the severest virtue,—if the historian finds much to censure. It ought not to be demanded of our ancestors, that they should be entirely free from the vices of the times in which they lived, or from the faults to which their situation particularly exposed them. We should not too severely censure them for intolerance, in an age when the virtue of toleration was unknown, or for an excessive zeal in support of their opinions, when they had sacrificed all the ordinary comforts of life to purchase the free enjoyment of them. Yet their faults, however natural, ought not to be concealed or entirely excused by the historian. He should write for the general instruction,—and, that he may do this effectually, he should thoroughly understand the character of the people of this country, and the nature, object, and tendency of its laws and institutions,—he should be able to relate, in a clear, accurate, and engaging manner, the events of our history, and to bestow praise or censure with truth and judgment, without prejudice or partiality, so that his decisions may be received with confidence, and be confirmed by the judgment of enlightened men of all ages and countries.

No one of the states has preserved a more decided and distinctly marked character than Connecticut. Among the first settlers of that colony, were some of the most intelligent, pious and discreet of the early pilgrims; and in building up their little republic, it was an object of their special care, to provide for perpetuating the virtues which had driven them to this country. They not only made abundant provision for the general education of their children, and for the religious instruction of the people, but guarded, by a strict civil and ecclesiastical discipline, against immorality in every form, and particularly against the fashionable vices of other countries. The growth of that state has been principally by the natural increase of its inhabitants, so that their character has been liable to little change from the intermixture of a foreign population; and such has been the nature of their pursuits, and the compactness of their situation, that they have had comparatively little intercourse with the people of

foreign countries, or of the neighbouring colonies and states. To these causes of their distinct national, or rather provincial character, should be added their strong attachment to their native state—the high estimate which they have always put upon their peculiar privileges—and the pride with which they have regarded their own institutions and laws, and their general character and condition. In the early part of their history, they probably viewed the neighbouring colonies with some degree of jealousy ; yet, at the same time, they found abundant reason for self-complacency, when they considered the spirit and success by which they had been distinguished in several difficult emergencies—their superior civil privileges and liberties, secured as they had been by their own foresight and intrepidity—the exemplary fidelity of their public men—the liberal provision which they had made for general instruction—the acknowledged purity of their morals—and the severe discipline and orthodox faith of their churches. There has therefore prevailed among the common people of Connecticut, more than of any other state, a sentiment, that whatever belongs to them is better than the like thing belonging to any other people—that the usages with which they are conversant, are the standard of what is proper—and that whatever exists among them cannot be mended by looking abroad for models. These feelings, in relation to certain subjects, may have been in some measure controlled by recent events and temporary excitements, but they do not the less constitute a characteristic trait of the mass of the people. This trait is not meant to be here designated as a fault. It may in some instances be productive of ludicrous effects, but it is in general, one of the most powerful aids of patriotism, and the surest safeguard of the state against useless innovations. While it preserves the citizen against the contagion of foreign vices, it secures to the people an identity of character, and prevents them from becoming assimilated in their manners and character to their neighbours.

The well educated classes of society, of course, are not included in these general remarks. They approach nearer to one standard in all countries. National characteristics must be taken from those, whose intercourse is confined principally to native inhabitants ; and whatever there is peculiar in the state of society and manners among them, renders their history the more an object of curiosity and interest. That this

is true with respect to the enterprising people, who form the subject of the present work, we think will be apparent from the view we are about to give of it.

The first and most important volume of this valuable work brings down the history of Connecticut to the year 1713, and was originally published in the year 1797. The second volume, which completes the work, is now published in conjunction with a new edition of the former. We rejoice that the life of the venerable author has been so far prolonged, as to enable him to complete this laborious undertaking. It is the first professed history of Connecticut, deserving the name, which has ever appeared. Yet the materials for such a history were very abundant. Besides the several general histories and narratives of the first settlement of New England, and the records of the United Colonies, of the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven before the union, and of Connecticut since that event,—there are still in existence entire records of most of the towns and churches of the state from their origin, many unpublished histories of towns, and narratives of remarkable events, drawn up near the time of their occurrence, and many manuscript letters which preserve the memory of important facts. These materials are of course much scattered, and the public are greatly indebted to the author who undertakes the labour of consulting them, and brings together, from the confused mass into regular order, all the facts which deserve a place in the history of the state.

That this task has been performed by the author of this history with great labour and fidelity, every reader of it must be satisfied. He has fallen into some errors, undoubtedly, and a few of them we shall endeavour to point out. But every page of the work bears the marks of patient inquiry and candid examination. This is a most powerful recommendation of it to public notice, and the reader, not conversant with the annals of New England, must be surprised to find the history of so small a people, so fertile in remarkable events and striking incidents, as is this unassuming narrative. It needs but the charms of an elegant style, and powerful description, to render it one of the most interesting portions of history yet on record.

The work opens with the following bold eulogium on the people of Connecticut. We copy it as a fair specimen of the author's style,—which is not entirely free from blemishes,—

and for the purpose of giving our testimony to the general accuracy of the picture.

‘The settlement of New England, purely for the purposes of religion, and the propagation of civil and religious liberty, is an event which has no parallel in the history of modern ages. The piety, self-denial, sufferings, patience, perseverance and magnanimity of the first settlers of the country are without a rival. The happy and extensive consequences of the settlements which they made, and of the sentiments which they were careful to propagate to their posterity, to the church and to the world, admit of no description. They are still increasing, spreading wider and wider, and appear more and more important.

‘The planters of Connecticut were among the illustrious characters, who first settled New England, and twice made settlements, first in Massachusetts, and then in Connecticut, on bare creation. In an age when the light of freedom was but just dawning, they, by voluntary compact, formed one of the most free and happy constitutions of government which mankind have ever adopted. Connecticut has ever been distinguished by the free spirit of its government, the mildness of its laws, and the general diffusion of knowledge, among all classes of its inhabitants. They have been no less distinguished by their industry, economy, purity of manners, population and spirit of enterprise. - For more than a century and half, they have had no rival, as to the steadiness of their government, their internal peace and harmony, their love and high enjoyment of domestic, civil and religious order and happiness. They have ever stood among the most illuminated, first and boldest defenders of the civil and religious rights of mankind.

‘The history of such a people must be curious, entertaining and important. It will exhibit the fairest models of civil government, of religious order, purity and human happiness.’ vol. i. pp. 17, 18.

The first emigrants, in resorting to this country, regarded it as a part of the dominions of Great Britain, and they always afterwards rested their title to the soil on grants derived from the sovereign of that kingdom. The king himself had no other right than that which resulted from discovery made by his subjects, or under his authority. A considerable tract of the Atlantic coast, including the shores of Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York and New Jersey, had not been visited by any European navigator, as late as the beginning

of the seventeenth century, though Great Britain had made a general claim to the whole country. This coast, from the Delaware to Martha's Vineyard, was first visited by Captain Henry Hudson, in the year 1609, while in the employ of the Dutch East India company. It does not appear, however, that he entered Long Island Sound, or visited any part of the coast of Connecticut. In relating this discovery, the author, by following Smith's History of New York, and some early English narratives, has been led into several errors. The following is his account of this discovery.

‘Capt. Henry Hudson, commissioned by king James I. in 1608, sailed, in the employment of several London merchants, to North-America. He came upon the coast in about 40 degrees of north latitude, and made a discovery of Long-Island and Hudson's river. He proceeded up the river as far as the latitude of 43, and called it by his own name.

‘About two years after, he made a second voyage to the river, in the service of a number of Dutch merchants: and some time after, made sale of his right to the Dutch. The right to the country, however, was antecedently in king James, by virtue of the discovery which Hudson had made under his commission. The English protested against the sale; but the Dutch, in 1614, under the Amsterdam West India company, built a fort nearly on the same ground where the city of Albany now is, which they called fort Aurania. Sir Thomas Dale, governour of Virginia, directly after despatched Capt Argal to dispossess the Dutch, and they submitted to the king of England, and under him to the governour of Virginia.’ p. 19.

This account is full of errors. The discovery did not take place until the year 1609. There are extant in Purchas' Pilgrim,—a work published in 1625, one entire copy of which only is known to be in this country—circumstantial narratives of four voyages made by Capt. Hudson, entitled, *Divers Voyages, and Northerne discoveries of that worthy, irrecoverable discoverer, Master Henry Hudson*, the authenticity of which there is no reason to doubt. The two first of these voyages were made in the service of English merchants, in the years 1607 and 1608, and both being entirely occupied in exploring the North Seas, he did not, in either of those years, come near the American coast. In 1609 he engaged in the service of the Dutch East India Company, and sailed from Amsterdam, in command of a Dutch ship, on the 25th of March of

that year. It was in this voyage, that he discovered the river which bears his name, and ascended it to about the place where the city of Albany now stands. He never visited the river, or this part of the coast, after this year. The Dutch East India Company soon after made an establishment at Albany, called Fort Orange, or Aurania, which was, as above related, compelled by Capt. Argal to submit for a short time to the British crown. This exploit, however, was performed by Argal in 1613, for, in the spring of the following year, he returned to England. In 1614, the Dutch settlement receiving a reinforcement, resumed their allegiance to the States General, and built a fort at the Manhadoes, as it was then called, on the site of the present city of New York. This account of the discovery of Hudson's river is confirmed by De Laet, in his *Americæ utriusque Descriptio*, published in 1633. He says distinctly, that Hudson, an Englishman, was despatched by the Dutch East India Company in the year 1609, for the purpose of discovering a northern passage to China, but that not succeeding in this object, he proceeded southward along the coast of New France, and after touching the coast in 44 degrees North latitude, and at several places near Cape Cod, he advanced as far south as the 37th degree of latitude, from which point he turned back along the shore, and discovered and ascended the river to which he gave his name. This account agrees precisely with the narrative published in Purchas. In virtue of this discovery, the States General claimed the whole country, from the Delaware river, northward *ad promontorium Cod usque*, and in the year 1610, some merchants of Amsterdam sent a ship thither for the purpose of trading with the natives, and one or two years afterwards they made a permanent settlement. In the Dutch maps published long after this date, not only New Jersey, but Connecticut, Rhode Island, and a part of Massachusetts are represented as included within the province of New Netherlands. These facts are proper to be stated, as accounting for the perseverance with which the people at Manhadoes persisted in their claim to the lands now forming the state of Connecticut, and for the hostile spirit which they manifested towards their neighbours, who dispossessed them of this valuable territory; and will also serve to explain some remarks, which we shall have occasion to make on a subsequent part of this work.

On the 3d of November, 1620, King James I, by letters patent, incorporated the Plymouth Company, consisting of a board of forty members, with the power of filling vacancies by election. To this company he granted, by the same instrument, all that part of North America lying between the 40th and 48th degrees of North latitude, provided the premises were 'not actually possessed or inhabited by any other christian prince or state,' and gave them full powers to govern the territory thus granted, and to make conveyances of it to such persons as they should see fit. This charter does not seem to have been made for the purpose of giving to the Plymouth Company any pecuniary interest in the tract of land granted to them, but solely for the purpose of enabling them to give titles to adventurers and actual settlers, and of establishing a responsible set of men in the government of the new country. This patent was the foundation of all grants of lauds in New England, made for many years. The Plymouth Company afterwards made separate grants of portions of their patent to Massachusetts, Plymouth and other New England colonies, and in 1635 they resigned the charter into the hands of King Charles I.

In the year 1630, the Plymouth Company granted the tract of country, forming the state of Connecticut, to Robert, Earl of Warwick, and he, in the following year, conveyed the same, under a vague and imperfect description, to Lord Say and Seal and his associates. Dr. Trumbull, speaking of this grant, says,

'This is the original patent of Connecticut. The settlers of the two colonies of Connecticut and New Haven were the patentees of Viscount Say and Seal, Lord Brook and their associates, to whom the patent was originally given.' p. 28.

And at page 118, he says,

'As the colonists, both in Connecticut and New Haven, were the patentees of Lord Say and Seal, Lord Brook and the other gentlemen interested in the old Connecticut patent, and as the patent covered a large tract of country, both colonies were desirous of securing the native titles to the lands, with all convenient despatch.'

In this there appears to be an error. The early emigrants to this country were not very careful in securing a title to the lands on which they settled. The first settlers of

the Plymouth colony did not procure their patent until some time after their arrival and settlement in this country. Lord Say and Seal and his associates, were well disposed towards the pious people who sought an asylum from persecution here, and it was probably with a view of aiding their emigration, that they procured the Connecticut patent. But we have not been able to find any evidence of a grant from them to either the Connecticut or New Haven colony. On the contrary, it is manifest from the letter of the General Court of Connecticut to Lord Say and Seal, of January 7, 1661, that they had received no title whatever from the patentees beyond some 'encouragements to transplant themselves and families into these inland parts of this vast wilderness.' They had, indeed, in the year 1644, purchased of George Fenwick,—who had made a settlement at Saybrook, at the mouth of Connecticut river, and who seems to have been one of the associates of Lord Say and Seal, and others, though not named in the patent to them,—the fort and lands occupied by him at Saybrook, and the right of jurisdiction over the lands on Connecticut river. But it does not appear that Fenwick had any authority to make this sale, and the General Court, in the letter above mentioned, complain of being greatly injured by him, 'he receiving,' say they, 'a vast sum from a poor people, and we scarcely at all advantaged thereby; nay, we judge our condition worse than if we had contented ourselves with the patronage of the grand patentees, for we have not so much as a copy of a patent to secure our standing as a commonwealth, nor to ensure us of the continuance of our rights and privileges and immunities, which we thought the jurisdiction, power and authority, which Mr. Fenwick had engaged to us, and we paid for at a dear rate, nor any thing under his hand to engage him and his heirs to the performance of that which was aimed at and intended in our purchase.'

The agreement with Fenwick is still extant. He seems to have been sensible of his own want of title, and therefore makes no positive covenant. He makes a conveyance in the usual words, of the fort at Saybrook, with 'two demiculverin cast pieces, with all the shot thereunto appertaining, except fifty; two long saker cast pieces, with all the shot thereunto belonging; one murderer, with two chambers and two hammered pieces; two barrels of gunpowder; forty musquets, with bandoleers and rests; one sow of lead" &c.

and agrees, 'that all the land upon the river of Connecticut shall belong to the said jurisdiction of Connecticut.' His only covenant of warranty is 'to make good to the jurisdiction aforesaid, against all claims that may be made by any other to the premises, *by reason of any disbursements upon the place,*' and 'that all the lands from Narraganset river to the fort of Saybrook, mentioned in a patent granted by the Earl of Warwick to certain noblemen and gentlemen, shall fall in under the jurisdiction of Connecticut, *if it come into his power.*'

There is not on record, that we have been able to discover, the slightest notice of any conveyance to the New Haven colony, of the tract of country which they occupied. But, in the year 1645, the court of New Haven, as appears from their records quoted by Dr. Trumbull, voted, 'that it was a proper time to join with Connecticut, in procuring a patent from parliament for these parts.' Mr. Gregson was therefore appointed the agent of New Haven to procure a patent, but on his voyage to England, he was lost at sea, and no other appointment for the purpose was ever made. Mr. Fenwick was appointed on a similar mission by the Connecticut colony, but he did not accept the office.

It appears, therefore, that the two colonies of Connecticut and New Haven were not the *patentees* of Viscount Say and Seal and others, though they settled on lands which had been previously granted to that company. Through the influence of Lord Say and Seal, and other friends of the colony, at the court of Charles II, the people of Connecticut obtained from that prince, soon after the restoration, a charter with very ample privileges, containing a grant of all the lands embraced in the original patent, including the New Haven colony. This gave them the first legal title to the lands on which they had settled.

Although the great patent of New England, given by James I, recites that, 'forasmuch as we have been certainly given to understand by divers of our good subjects, that have for these many years past frequented those coasts and territories between the degrees of forty and forty-eight, that there is no other the subjects of any christian king or state, by any authority from their sovereign lords or princes, actually in possession of any of the said lands or precincts,'—it is certain that the Dutch of the colony of New Netherlands

had been seated on the banks of the Hudson, by authority of the States General of the United Provinces, for the space of six or eight years. It is probable, that they early extended their discoveries towards the Connecticut. Dr. Trumbull says,

‘The first discoveries made of this part of New England were of its principal river and the fine meadows lying upon its banks. Whether the Dutch at New Netherlands, or the people of New Plymouth were the first discoverers of the river is not certain. Both the English and Dutch claimed to be the first discoverers, and both purchased and made a settlement of the lands upon it nearly at the same time.’ p. 29.

De Laet says, that his countrymen, the Dutch, discovered an Indian fort on this river, called by them Fresh river, in the year 1614. Prince, in his *New England Chronology*, says, that Capt. Dermer, an Englishman, sailing from Cape Cod to Virginia, in the year 1619, proceeded along the coast between Long Island and the Main, and was the first who passed through the Sound, and discovered that to be an island, which was before accounted a part of the continent. He returned to New England in the following spring, and ‘in his way he meets with certain Hollanders, who had a trade in Hudson’s river some years; discovers many goodly rivers and exceeding pleasant coasts and islands for eighty leagues east from Hudson’s river to Cape Cod.’ This was before the settlement of the Plymouth colony, and it does not appear that the Plymouth people had any knowledge of the discovery. In the year 1623, a Dutch trading vessel from the New Netherlands was stranded in Narraganset bay, near the mouth of Taunton river. In the same year, the Plymouth people went on a trading voyage to Narraganset bay, it being the first time they had adventured so far towards the west. In this expedition they were not successful, because the Dutch had been accustomed to supply the natives with goods better suited to their wants, than the Plymouth people were able to furnish. From the length of time, during which the Dutch at New Netherlands had carried on a trade with the Indians through Long Island sound, and the frequency of their visits to Narraganset bay, which is much farther from their settlement than Connecticut river, there is reason to believe that they had frequently visited that river long be-

fore this date. That it was not only well known to them previous to the year 1631, and that they had even communicated their knowledge to the Plymouth people,—who at that time had never visited it,—appears from the following very satisfactory evidence. Governour Bradford of the Plymouth colony, in his history, as it is quoted in Prince's Annals, says,—‘We (at Plymouth) having had formerly converse and familiarity with the Dutch; they seeing us seated in a barren quarter, told us of a river called by them Fresh river, which they often commended to us for a fine place both for plantation and trade, and wished us to make use of it. But our hands being full otherwise, we let it pass.’ He then proceeds to relate, that some time afterwards, being solicited by several Indians from that quarter, ‘and having good store of commodities, we began to send that way, to discover the same, and trade with the natives. We found it to be a fine place, and tried divers times, not without profit.’ This was seventeen years after the discovery of the Indian fort near Hartford, made by the Dutch, as mentioned by De Laet. The solicitation from the Indians, referred to above, was also addressed to the people of Massachusetts, who declined listening to it, and is thus noticed by Governour Winthrop in his journal, under date of April 4, 1631. ‘Wahgumacut, a sagamore up the river Connecticut, which lies west of Narraganset, comes to the governour at Boston, with John Sagamore and Jack Straw, an Indian who had lived in England with Sir Walter Raleigh, and divers of their saunups, and brings a letter to the governour from Mr. Endicot to this effect; that the said Wahgum is very desirous to have some English to plant in his country, and offers to find them corn, and give them yearly eighty skins of beaver; says the country is very fruitful, and wishes there may be two men sent with him to see the country. The governour entertains them at dinner, but would send none with him.’

It is equally certain, that the Dutch made the first settlement on the river. The first building erected here by the English was the Plymouth house, which was built at Windsor in October, 1633. Peter Stuivesant, governour of New Netherlands, in his letter to the commissioners of the United Colonies, of March 26, 1653, says, ‘Anno 1633 the 8th of January, there was by Jacobus Van Curlis, at that time in the service of this land, by order and in the name of the high

and mighty, our States General, and the honoured Lords Bewinthebbers, bought, the land situate on the Fresh river of New Netherland, named Sioasock or Connecticut, with the dependant thereunto belonging, as it was then inhabited by the Sequelin, as may appear more at large by the said deed or bill of sale and witnesses, and may be avouched by living christians.' On this spot, which was within the town of Hartford, they built a fort, from which they fired upon the Plymouth people, as they went up to build their trading house at Windsor.

Governour Bradford gives the following account of this transaction, which confirms the Dutch claim of previous purchase and possession. 'But the Dutch begin now to repent;' viz. of their invitation to the English—and hearing of our purpose and preparation, endeavour to prevent us, get in a little before us, make a slight fort, and plant two pieces of ordnance, threatening to stop our passage. But, we having a great new bark and a frame of a house, with boards, nails, &c. ready, that we might have a defence against the Indians, who are much offended that we bring home and restore the right Sachems of the place called Watawanute; so as we are to encounter a double danger in this attempt; both the Dutch and Indians. When we come up the river, the Dutch demand what we intend and whither we would go? We answer, Up the river to trade. Now our order was to go and seat above them. They bid us strike and stay, or they would shoot us; and stood by their ordnance ready fitted. We answer, We have a commission from the governour of Plymouth to go up the river to such a place; and if they shoot us, we must obey our order and proceed; we would not molest them, but would go on. So we pass along, and the Dutch threaten us hard, yet they shoot not. Coming to our place, about a mile above the Dutch, we quickly clap up our house, land our provisions, leave the company appointed, send the bark home, and afterwards palisade our house about, and fortify better. The Dutch send word home to the Monhatos, what was done; and in process of time, they send a band of about seventy men, in warlike manner with colours displayed, to assault us; but seeing us strengthened, and it would cost blood, they come to a parley, and return in peace. And this was our entrance there. We did the Dutch no wrong; for we took not a foot of any land they bought; but

went to the place above them, and bought that tract of land which belonged to the Indians we carried with us, and our friends with whom the Dutch had nothing to do.'

The conflicting claims of the two colonies were the occasion of a bitter controversy between them for the space of thirty years, and until the New Netherlands were reduced to subjection to the British crown. Each party asserted its rights with obstinacy, and both suffered severely from the quarrel. It is not easy to discover on what ground the Dutch were regarded by the first settlers of Connecticut, or by their historian at this day, as 'mere intruders.' They had made the first discovery of Hudson's river, and had established themselves upon its banks. They had obtained a patent from their government, who had as good a right to grant lands discovered by their subjects, as any other state. This patent included the lands on Connecticut river, and this river was discovered by them before it was known by the English to exist, and before the grant of the New England patent. After trading with the Indians for several years, they purchased of them a tract of land, and built upon it a fort and trading house, before the country had been taken possession of by the English; and the people from the Plymouth and Massachusetts colonies, when they attempted to drive them from it, came without a shadow of title from the Plymouth company, under whom they professed to claim.

We have here, at the outset, dwelt upon the principal errors in matter of fact, which we shall have occasion to notice in this work. We proceed to give some account of the more interesting events which are detailed in the course of the history.

The original Connecticut colony consisted of people who first emigrated from England to Massachusetts, and, in the years 1630 and 1632, settled and formed themselves into churches at Dorchester, Watertown and Cambridge, where they resided several years. But either because the number of emigrants to Massachusetts did not allow them all such a choice as they wished of good lands, or because some jealousies had arisen between their pastors and leaders, and the leading men of the colony, they took the resolution of seating themselves again in the wilderness; and in the years 1635 and 1636 they removed their families to Windsor, Weathersfield and Hartford, on the Connecticut river.

The party, who first removed,—having made some preparation in the course of the summer for their winter's accommodation,—to the number of about sixty men, women, and children, set out on foot, about the middle of October, from Boston to Connecticut, through the pathless wilderness, carrying with them their cattle, swine, and other property. After a long and tedious journey through a continued forest, and over rivers and mountains, they reached their place of destination very late in the season.

‘The winter set in this year much sooner than usual, and the weather was stormy and severe. By the 15th of November, Connecticut river was frozen over, and the snow was so deep, and the season so tempestuous, that a considerable number of the cattle, which had been driven on from the Massachusetts, could not be brought across the river. The people had so little time to prepare their huts and houses, and to erect sheds and shelters for their cattle, that the sufferings of man and beasts were extreme. Indeed, the hardships and distresses of the first planters of Connecticut scarcely admit of a description. To carry much provision or furniture through a pathless wilderness, was impracticable. Their principal provisions and household furniture were, therefore, put on board several small vessels, which, by reason of delays and the tempestuousness of the season, were either cast away or did not arrive. Several vessels were wrecked on the coasts of New England by the violence of the storms. Two shallops, laden with goods from Boston to Connecticut in October, were cast away on Brown’s island, near the Gurnet’s nose; and the men, with every thing on board, were lost. A vessel, with six of the Connecticut people on board, which sailed from the river for Boston, early in November, was, about the middle of the month, cast away in Manamet Bay. The men got on shore, and after wandering ten days in deep snow and a severe season, without meeting with any human being, arrived, nearly spent with cold and fatigue, at New Plymouth.

‘By the last of November or beginning of December, provision generally failed in the settlements on the river, and famine and death looked the inhabitants sternly in the face. Some of them, driven by hunger, attempted their way, in this severe season, through the wilderness, from Connecticut to Massachusetts. Of thirteen in one company who made this attempt, one, in passing the river, fell through the ice, and was drowned. The other twelve were ten days on their journey, and would all have perished, had it not been for the assistance of the Indians.

‘Indeed, such was the distress in general, that, by the 3d and

4th of December, a considerable part of the new settlers were obliged to abandon their habitations. Seventy persons, men, women and children, were necessitated in the extremity of winter, to go down to the mouth of the river, to meet their provisions, as the only expedient to preserve their lives. Not meeting with the vessels which they expected, they all went on board the *Rebecca*, a vessel of about sixty tons. This, two days before, was frozen in twenty miles up the river ; but by the falling of a small rain and the influence of the tide, the ice became so broken and was so far removed, that she made a shift to get out. She ran, however, upon the bar, and the people were forced to unlade her, to get her off. She was reladen, and, in five days, reached Boston. Had it not been for these providential circumstances, the people must have perished with famine.

‘The people, who kept their stations on the river, suffered in an extreme degree. After all the help they were able to obtain, by hunting, and from the Indians, they were obliged to subsist on acorns, malt and grains.’ pp. 62, 63.

In the following spring, those, who had made their escape from Connecticut, returned,—and they were joined by the rest of those who had determined to make a part of the new colony.

‘About the beginning of June, Mr. Hooker, Mr. Stone, and about a hundred men, women, and children, took their departure from Cambridge, and travelled more than a hundred miles, through a hideous and trackless wilderness, to Hartford. They had no guide but their compass ; made their way over mountains, through swamps, thickets, and rivers, which were not passable but with great difficulty. They had no cover but the heavens, nor any lodgings but those which simple nature afforded them. They drove with them one hundred and sixty head of cattle, and by the way, subsisted on the milk of their cows. Mrs. Hooker was borne through the wilderness upon a litter. The people generally carried their packs, arms, and some utensils. They were nearly a fortnight on their journey. This adventure was the more remarkable, as many of this company were persons of figure, who had lived in England, in honour, affluence, and delicacy, and were entire strangers to fatigue and danger.’ pp. 64, 65.

The emigrants from Dorchester settled on the lands which had been two or three years before purchased of the Indians by the Plymouth people, and on which they had erected a trading house. The Plymouth colony made complaint of

this intrusion, and some time after obtained an indemnity from the inhabitants of Windsor.

From the commencement of the Connecticut colony, the natives discovered a hostile disposition. Their principal enemy was the Pequots, the most numerous and warlike nation within the limits of the state, and perhaps in New England. They inhabited the country which forms the towns of New London, Groton and Stonington. Sassacus, the great prince of the Pequots, had under him six and twenty sachems, and could bring into the field seven hundred or a thousand warriors, who had been long accustomed to victory. The royal residence was at a large fort situated on a beautiful eminence in the town of Groton, which commands an extensive prospect of the sea and of the surrounding country. There was also another fortress, called Mystic fort, situated in the town of Stonington.

After suffering repeated injuries, and the murder of about thirty of their people, principally by the Pequots, the General Court, which had been convened for the purpose, resolved on active hostilities, and immediately raised an army of ninety men,—half the effective force of the colony. These were to be joined by two hundred men from Massachusetts, and forty from Plymouth. The court which declared the war, was holden on the 1st of May, the men were raised and embarked on the river, under the command of Capt. Mason, on the 10th, and, after being wind-bound several days, sailed from the mouth of the river for Narraganset bay on the 19th. They were accompanied by sixty Moheagan and River Indians, under Uncas, a Moheagan sachem. On reaching Narraganset bay, they landed to the number of seventy-seven Englishmen, marched into the country of the Narragansets, and communicated their design to Miantonimoh, the sachem of the country, who offered to join them. Information was here received that Capt. Patrick had reached Providence, with a company of Massachusetts troops, but it was resolved not to wait for this reinforcement. On the next day, they marched twenty miles, through the west part of Rhode Island, and reached Nihantick, which bordered on the Pequot country.

‘ In the morning, a considerable number of Miantonimoh’s men came on and joined the English. This encouraged many of the Nihanticks also to join them. They soon formed a circle, and

made protestations, how gallantly they would fight, and what numbers they would kill. When the army marched, the next morning, the captain had with him nearly five hundred Indians. He marched twelve miles, to the ford in Pawcatuck river. The day was very hot, and the men, through the great heat, and a scarcity of provision, began to faint. The army, therefore, made a considerable halt, and refreshed themselves. Here the Narraganset Indians began to manifest their dread of the Pequots, and to inquire of Capt. Mason, with great anxiety, what were his real designs. He assured them, that it was his design to attack the Pequots in their forts. At this, they appeared to be panic-struck, and filled with amazement. Many of them drew off, and returned to Narraganset. The army marched on about three miles, and came to Indian corn-fields; and the captain, imagining that he drew near the enemy, made a halt: he called his guides and council, and demanded of the Indians how far it was to the forts. They represented, that it was twelve miles to Sassacus's fort, and that both forts were in a manner impregnable. Wequash, a Pequot captain or petty sachem, who had revolted from Sassacus to the Narragansets, was the principal guide, and he proved faithful. He gave such information, respecting the distance of the forts from each other, and the distance which they were then at from the chief sachem's, as determined him and his officers to alter the resolution which they had before adopted, of attacking them both at once; and to make a united attack upon that at Mystic. He found his men so fatigued, in marching through a pathless wilderness, with their provisions, arms, and ammunition, and so affected with the heat, that this resolution appeared to be absolutely necessary. One of Capt. Underhill's men became lame, at the same time, and began to fail. The army, therefore, proceeded directly to Mystic, and continuing their march, came to a small swamp between two hills, just at the disappearing of the daylight. The officers supposing that they were now near the fort, pitched their little camp, between or near two large rocks, in Groton, since called Porter's rocks. The men were faint and weary, and though the rocks were their pillows, their rest was sweet. The guards and sentinels were considerably advanced, in the front of the army, and heard the enemy singing at the fort, who continued their rejoicings even until midnight. They had seen the vessels pass the harbour, some days before, and had concluded, that the English were afraid, and had no courage to attack them. They were therefore rejoicing, singing, dancing, insulting them, and wearying themselves, on this account.

'The night was serene, and, towards morning, the moon shone clear. The important crisis was now come, when the very ex-

istence of Connecticut, under providence, was to be determined by the sword, in a single action ; and to be decided by the good conduct of less than eighty brave men. The Indians who remained were now sorely dismayed, and though at first, they had led the van, and boasted of great feats, yet were now all fallen back in the rear.

‘ About two hours before day, the men were roused with all expedition, and briefly commending themselves and their cause to God, advanced immediately towards the fort. After a march of about two miles, they came to the foot of a large hill, where a fine country opened before them. The captain, supposing that the fort could not be far distant, sent for the Indians in the rear, to come up. Uncas and Wequash at length appeared. He demanded of them where the fort was. They answered, on the top of the hill. He demanded of them where were the other Indians. They answered, that they were much afraid. The captain sent to them not to fly, but to surround the fort at any distance they pleased, and see whether Englishmen would fight. The day was nearly dawning, and no time was now to be lost. The men pressed on, in two divisions, Captain Mason to the northeastern, and Captain Underhill to the western entrance. As the object which they had been so long seeking, came into view, and while they reflected they were to fight not only for themselves, but their parents, wives, children, and the whole colony, the martial spirit kindled in their bosoms, and they were wonderfully animated and assisted. As captain Mason advanced within a rod or two of the fort a dog barked, and an Indian roared out *Owanux ! Owanux !* That is, Englishmen ! Englishmen ! The troops pressed on, and as the Indians were rallying, poured in upon them, through the pallisadoes, a general discharge of their muskets, and then wheeling off to the principal entrance, entered the fort sword in hand. Notwithstanding the suddenness of the attack, the blaze and thunder of their arms, the enemy made a manly and desperate resistance. Captain Mason and his party drove the Indians in the main street towards the west part of the fort, where some bold men, who had forced their way, met them, and made such slaughter among them that the street was soon clear of the enemy. They secreted themselves in and behind their wigwams, and taking advantage of every covert, maintained an obstinate defence. The captain and his men entered the wigwams, where they were beset with many Indians, who took every advantage to shoot them, and lay hands upon them, so that it was with great difficulty that they could defend themselves with their swords. After a severe conflict, in which many of the Indians were slain, some of the English killed, and others sorely wounded, the victory still

hung in suspense. The captain, finding himself much exhausted, and out of breath, as well as his men, by the extraordinary exertions which they had made, in this critical state of the action, had recourse to a successful expedient. He cries out to his men, **WE MUST BURN THEM.** He immediately entering a wigwam, took fire and put it into the mats, with which the wigwams were covered. The fire instantly kindling, spread with such violence that all the Indian houses were soon wrapped in one general flame. As the fire increased, the English retired without the fort, and compassed it on every side. Uncas and his Indians, with such of the Narragansets as yet remained, took courage, from the example of the English, and formed another circle in the rear of them. The enemy were now seized with astonishment; and, forced by the flames from their lurking places into open light, became a fair mark for the English soldiers. Some climbed the pallisadoes, and were instantly brought down by the fire of the English muskets. Others, desperately sallying forth from their burning cells, were shot, or cut in pieces with the sword. Such terror fell upon them, that they would run back from the English, into the very flames. Great numbers perished in the conflagration.

‘The greatness and violence of the fire, the reflection of the light, the flashing and roar of the arms, the shrieks and yellings of the men, women and children, in the fort, and the shoutings of the Indians without, just at the dawning of the morning, exhibited a grand and awful scene. In little more than an hour, this whole work of destruction was finished. Seventy wigwams were burnt, and five or six hundred Indians perished, either by the sword, or in the flames. A hundred and fifty warriors had been sent on, the evening before, who, that very morning, were to have gone forth against the English. Of these, and all who belonged to the fort, seven only escaped, and seven were made prisoners. It had been previously concluded not to burn the fort, but to destroy the enemy, and take the plunder; but the captain afterwards found it the only expedient to obtain the victory, and save his men. Thus parents and children, the sannup and squaw, the old man and the babe, perished in promiscuous ruin.’ pp. 83—86.

Although this victory was complete, the situation of the army was extremely dangerous and distressing. Two of their number were killed, and one quarter of them were wounded. The remainder were exhausted with fatigue, and destitute of provisions. They were in the midst of an enemy's country, many miles from their vessels, and their ammunition was nearly exhausted. They were but a few miles

distant from the principal fortress of their enemy, where there was a fresh army, which they knew would be exasperated in the highest degree on learning the fate of their brethren. In the midst of their perplexity, while they were consulting on the course to be pursued, their vessels appeared in sight, steering with a fair wind directly into the harbour.

‘Immediately, upon the discovery of the vessels, about three hundred Indians came on from the other fort. Captain Mason perceiving their approach, led out a chosen party to engage them, and try their temper. He gave them such a warm reception, as soon checked and put them to a stand. This gave him great encouragement, and he ordered the army to march for Pequot harbour. The enemy, upon this, immediately advanced to the hill, where the fort stood; and, viewing the destruction which had been made, stamped and tore their hair from their heads. After a short pause, and blowing themselves up to the highest transport of passion, they leaped down the hill after the army, in the most violent manner, as though they were about to run over the English. Captain Underhill, who, with a number of the best men, was ordered to defend the rear, soon checked the eagerness of their pursuit, and taught them to keep at a more respectful distance. The friendly Indians who had not deserted, now kept close to the English, and it was believed that after the enemy came on they were afraid to leave them. The enemy pursued the army nearly six miles, sometimes shooting at a distance, from behind rocks and trees, and at other times, pressing on more violently, and desperately hazarding themselves in the open field.

‘That the English might all be enabled to fight, Captain Mason soon hired the Indians to carry the wounded men and their arms. The English killed several of the enemy while they pursued them, but sustained no loss themselves. When they killed a Pequot, the other Indians would shout, run and fetch his head. At length, the enemy, finding that they could make no impression upon the army, and that wounds and death attended their attempts, gave over the pursuit.

‘The army then marched to the harbour, with their colours flying, and were received on board the vessels, with great mutual joy and congratulation.’ p. 87.

The troops employed on this successful expedition, reached their homes, before the expiration of a month from the day that the war was resolved upon. The Pequots, on the departure of Capt. Mason, burnt their wigwams, destroyed their principal fort, and scattered themselves throughout the coun-

try. Sassacus, with a party of his chief warriors, abandoned his country, and moved by slow marches towards the Hudson river. They were followed by a party of Massachusetts and Connecticut troops; and in a great swamp in Fairfield, near the western part of Connecticut, they were overtaken and a battle ensued. Sassacus and about 20 of his most hardy men escaped, and fled to the Mohawk country. But there he found no safety. He was surprised by the Mohawks and killed with all his party except Mononotto, who, after being wounded, made his escape. The Pequots who remained were divided between the Moheagans and Narragansets, and the nation became extinct.

The prisoners, who were taken in this war, were treated by the English with great cruelty. Many of them were put to death. Several sachems were beheaded at Menunkatuch, and the spot has, from the cruel deed, been called Sachem's Head to this day. The women and children were divided among the troops, and it is stated that 'the people of Massachusetts sent a number of the women and boys to the West Indies, and sold them for slaves.' How opposed is this treatment, to the benevolent spirit that breathes in the letter of the amiable Robinson to the people of Plymouth, on learning that some of the natives had been killed, when he says, 'O how happy a thing had it been that you had converted some before you had killed any!'

'Among the Pequot captives were the wife and children of Mononotto. She was particularly noticed by the English for her great modesty, humanity and good sense. She made it as her only request, that she might not be injured either as to her offspring or personal honour. As a requital of her kindness to the captivated maids, her life and the lives of her children were not only spared, but they were particularly recommended to the care of governor Winthrop. He gave charge for their protection and kind treatment.' p. 92.

The narrative of this war, which abounds in traits of heroism and striking incidents, is written with great spirit, and cannot but be read with interest. The vigour and boldness, with which it was prosecuted on both sides, give it the air of romance. Its decisive termination, which was so fatal to one party, was productive of the most happy consequences to the other. It struck the Indians throughout New England

with such a salutary terrour, that they were contented, in general, to remain at peace for nearly forty years.

In the year 1638, a new colony was founded at New Haven. It consisted of a company, who had arrived the year before at Boston from England, and among them were several gentlemen eminent for their talents, and of great fortunes. They purchased lands at New Haven of the natives, and laid out a regular city, which they designed as a place of great trade. In the year following, the people of Connecticut convened at Hartford, and formed a constitution of government, which was of the most popular kind, the leading objects of which were to maintain the liberty and purity of the gospel, the discipline of the churches, and the administration of the government according to the laws. The people of New Haven, also, the same year, formed a constitution similar to that of the neighbouring colony, except that it was a little more strict in not admitting any but church members to the privileges of freemen. These continued to be the constitutions of the two colonies, until they were united under the new charter in 1661.

In 1643, the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut and New Haven, after having agitated the subject for some years, entered into a confederation, for their mutual safety and welfare, under the title of 'The United Colonies of New England.' The four colonies were admitted on equal terms, and the affairs of the confederacy were managed by a board of commissioners, consisting of two members annually appointed by each colony, who were required to convene once in every year, and on all occasions of special emergency; and were invested with full power to conduct all affairs of general concern relating to the colonies. This confederation subsisted, and was productive of the most beneficial effects, for the space of forty years. The articles of union reserved to the several colonies a complete jurisdiction in all matters of a local nature, or relating to them individually, and specified the powers granted to the commissioners. All military expenses were to be borne by the colonies, in the proportion of the number of male inhabitants between sixteen and sixty years of age. Dr. Trumbull says, in enumerating the powers of the commissioners, 'They were vested with plenary powers, for making war and peace.' He, however, relates, in a subsequent part of the work, the history of a

very serious controversy between the legislature of Massachusetts and the commissioners of the three other colonies, which turned on the question, whether the commissioners were invested with the power of involving the colonies in an offensive war, against the consent of the legislatures of the several colonies, in a case in which they should declare the war unjust. The articles of confederation, in enumerating the powers of the commissioners, direct, that they 'shall bring full power from their severall generall courts respectively, to heare, examine, weigh, and determine, all affairs of our warr or peace, leagues, ayds, charges, and numbers of men for warr, division of spoyles, and whatsoever is gotten by conquest, receiving of more confederatts for plantacons, into combinacon with any of the confederatts, and all thinges of like nature, which are the proper concomitants or consequents of such a confederacon for amytye, offence and defence, not intermeddling with the government of any of the jurisdiccons, which by the third article is preserved entirely to themselves.' The decision of six of the eight commissioners was to be binding upon the colonies.

The controversy here referred to, took place in the year 1653, and produced a violent agitation through the colonies. It arose from a proposition, urged with great vehemence on the part of the commissioners, to declare war against the Dutch at New Netherlands. We are not able to copy at length the account of this transaction, as it is given in this history, but the following extracts will show the occasion of the remarks which we are about to make.

'Nothing could induce the Massachusetts to unite with their brethren, in a war against the Dutch. The general court, in direct violation of the articles of confederation, resolved that no determination of the commissioners, though they should all agree, should bind the general court to join in an offensive war, which should appear to such general court to be unjust. This declaration gave great uneasiness to the commissioners, and to the sister colonies. Indeed, it nearly effected a dissolution of their union.' p. 208.

'Few instances occur in history, of so flagrant and obstinate a violation of a covenant, so solemnly made, as this of the general court of Massachusetts; especially, of a covenant made between christians of the same nation, and all professed brethren of the same faith. What interest the Massachusetts made by thus

favouring the Dutch, is not known ; but surely it is painful to relate the indelible stain, which the legislature of so ancient and respectable a colony have left, by this conduct, upon their honour, as men, and upon their morals, as christians.' pp. 211, 212.

This appears to be written in the temper of the times when the events occurred, and with the feeling which then animated the people of Connecticut. The author must have gotten his view of the subject from the cotemporary writers of his own state. But the length of time which has passed away, should enable us to examine it more dispassionately. His history of the controversy is imperfect, and in several points erroneous. In the brief account which we are about to give of it, we shall rely principally upon the authority of the records of the United Colonies, published in the second volume of Hazard's invaluable Collections.

The Connecticut and New Haven people had been engaged in the most vexatious and irritating quarrels with the Dutch, from the first settlement of their colonies. It cannot be supposed, however, that the wrong was always on the side of their rivals. The effect of these had been to excite them to a state of the most bitter hostility. In the mean time, the English parliament declared war against the United Provinces, and several obstinate naval battles were fought in the British channel. This opened the way for hostilities between the infant colonies of the two countries on this continent, if they were disposed for it.

On the 19th of May, 1653, a special meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies was holden at Boston, in consequence of a rumour, that a plot had been formed between the Dutch at New Netherlands, and the Indians in all quarters of the country, to cut off, by a general massacre, the whole English population of New England. The rumour of this plot was derived from the Indians, and it was supposed to be corroborated by various circumstances. Ninigrett, one of the Narraganset sachems, had passed the winter at the Manhadoes, and returned in the spring in a Dutch vessel. Uncas, the Moheagan sachem, informed that Ninigrett had made a league with the Dutch governour, and had received from him, as presents, twenty guns, with powder and shot ; and also related many other proofs of hostility to the English, on the part of Ninigrett. Traders with the Indians in Rhode Island gave information, that the Narragansets spoke

in terms of commendation of the Dutch, declaring that they would furnish goods at half the price demanded by the English, and would supply them with powder in abundance. It was also reported, that the northern and eastern Indians had become insolent in their conduct towards the English; and several Indians on Long Island, and in the neighbourhood of the Manhadoes, informed that they had been solicited, with the promise of liberal presents, to join the Dutch in a conspiracy to cut off the English.

About the same time, the Dutch governour wrote to the governours of the New England colonies, proposing to enter into an engagement to remain neutral, unless contrary orders should be given by their superiors, notwithstanding the war subsisting between the two countries; and offered to send an agent to treat on the subject with the commissioners. This proposition was considered by the commissioners as altogether insidious, and tending to corroborate the rumours of his hostile designs, which had taken strong hold on their minds.

The three Narraganset sachems, in reply to certain queries propounded to them by messengers despatched from Boston for that purpose, utterly denied having any knowledge of such a plot. Mixam, one of these sachems, declared;—‘though I be poor, it is not goods, guns, powder, nor shot that shall draw me to such a plot as this against the English, my friends.’ Sassacus, after disclaiming with great warmth all participation in such a treasonable design, inquires;—‘Have we not reason in us? How can the Dutch shelter us, being so remote, against the power of the English our friends—we living close by the doors of the English our friends?—We do profess, we do abhor it.’ Ninigrett answered, that he went to the Manhadoes to be cured of a disease that was upon him, having heard that a Frenchman resided there who could cure him, and that he went with the knowledge of Governour Winthrop. He said that he had not been treated by the Dutch governour in a manner calculated to shake his fidelity to the English. ‘It was winter time,’ says he, ‘and I stood a great part of a winter day, knocking at the governour’s door, and he would neither open it, nor suffer others to open it, to let me in. I was not wont to find such carriage from the English, my friends.’ He said, that he had never heard the Dutch express any hostile intentions against the English, but that

he had been told by some Indians at the Manhadoes, that the English and Dutch were fighting in their own country, and that some ships were coming over with ammunition, and that on their arrival a great blow would be given to the English here. Whether this was true he could not tell. He declared that he had received no guns from the governour, but that he had bought two of the Indians.

The commissioners were not satisfied with this denial,—although it was supported by explanations and assurances given by three messengers despatched by the Narraganset sachems to Boston,—nor by the positive denial of all hostile intentions by the Dutch governour in a letter addressed to the governour of New Haven, in which he offered to come, or send agents to clear himself before the commissioners ;—but they proceeded to draw up at great length, a declaration against the Dutch, containing a recital of their former grievances, and of the proofs of the supposed conspiracy. ‘ That the Indians,’ say they, ‘ whoe know not God, but worshipp and walke after the prince of the power of the aire, serving theire lusts, hateful and hating one another, should grow insolent, and sundrey wayes injurious to strangers of contrary judgment and practice, cannot seem strange to any whoe consider what proportion and agreement there is ordenaryly betwixt the fruit and the tree ;—’ but from the Dutch, who were a christian people, they had expected a neighbourly and friendly line of conduct. Having drawn up their declaration, the commissioners were divided in opinion respecting the course proper to be pursued, and therefore submitted the subject for their advice, to the council of Massachusetts, and the neighbouring elders. In pursuance of the advice of these two bodies, they immediately despatched three agents or ambassadors to the Manhadoes, ‘ that the Dutch governour have an opportunity given him, to answer for himself, either by purgation or acceptance or disacceptance of satisfactory propositions of security, as the matter shall require ; by whose answere whereunto, our call to peace or warr may be further cleared, and the incollumity of the colonies in the interim provided for.’

The history of this mission, as it is related in the records of the United Colonies, is perhaps without a parallel in the annals of diplomacy. The agents were instructed, not only to obtain explanations and satisfaction from the governour,

but to procure all the evidence in their power from the Dutch or Indians, on their way, at Manhadoes, or on Long Island, relative to the alleged conspiracy. They were ordered to use all due diligence, and to return as soon as possible. This part of their instructions, at least, they obeyed with exemplary fidelity. They repaired to the Manhadoes, and a brisk correspondence was carried on with the governour for the space of two or three days. They first proposed that the governour should appoint a time and a place within the United Colonies, for the examination of witnesses, to clear him from the charge of having conspired with the Indians against the English colonies. This proposition he refused to accede to. They then proposed that the examination should take place at Flushing or Hamstead on Long Island, and that they should be furnished with full power under his hand, to call to testify, any persons they might choose, and that he should give satisfactory assurance that no person who might give testimony, should be called in question or disturbed on account of it. This proposition the governour acceded to, on condition that three commissioners, named by himself, should be joined with the English agents, and that before these six gentlemen, all persons should be examined according to the custom of the laws of New Netherland. He therefore gave a warrant under his hand, and the hand of the members of the council, and the seal of the province, commanding all inferior magistrates and officers to cite before the English and Dutch commissioners, all persons whom they should require, English, Dutch, or natives. The governour and council at the same time protested jointly, and every one in particular, that they were guiltless of any plot, either offensive or defensive against the English. This answer was not satisfactory to the English agents, because it was a variation from their proposition, because they were not satisfied with the persons nominated to be joined to the commission, and because the examination was restricted to the custom of the laws of New Netherland. They therefore proceeded to demand, in the name of the United Colonies, satisfaction for the injuries they had received.

Dr. Trumbull, in his account of this negotiation, says, that the Dutch governour 'would submit to no examination by the agents, any further than a committee of his own appointing should consent,' and that he 'would not suffer the wit-

nesses to speak, unless they were previously laid under such restraints as would prevent all benefit from their evidence.' This is not, according to our apprehension, a fair construction of the governour's letter. On the contrary, his proposition seems to have been more reasonable than theirs, and the best adapted of the two, for coming at the truth,—the professed object of both parties.

After some further fruitless negotiation,—in the course of which Stuyvesant, the Dutch governour, renewed the proposition for a treaty of alliance, by which the parties should bind themselves to preserve a state of peace, notwithstanding the hostilities carried on between the mother countries,—the correspondence closed. The English agents, after collecting some vague and inconclusive evidence relative to the alleged conspiracy, from a number of Indians, returned to Boston.

During the absence of their ambassadors, the commissioners resolved, that, 'if God should call the colonies to make war against the Dutch,' an army should be raised of five hundred men, of whom three hundred and thirty-three should be furnished by Massachusetts, sixty by Plymouth, sixty-five by Connecticut and forty-two by New Haven. The commander in chief was to be commissioned by Massachusetts, but they recommended that Capt. Leverett,—one of the agents on the Dutch mission,—should be appointed, on account of the opportunity he had had to observe the situation and fortifications of the Manhadoes.

On the return of the agents to Boston, arose the important question, whether war should be immediately declared against the Dutch. It was evident, that the commissioners of the three smaller colonies were in favour of such a measure, but the people of Massachusetts generally were opposed to it. The General Court of that colony, therefore, on the 24th of May, passed a resolve, for proposing to the commissioners a consultation on the subject, taking the advice of such elders as should choose to be present. The commissioners acceded to the proposition, and a committee, consisting of four from each body, was appointed to draw up a statement of the case. The committee not being able to agree on a report, it was determined that two statements should be drawn up, one by a member of the General Court's committee, and the other by one of the committee appointed by the commissioners, and that both should be written upon the same sheet of paper.

and submitted to the court and elders. The declaration of the commissioners against the Dutch, and the evidence they had collected of the plot, were also submitted. The reference of this important subject to the clergy of the colony, for their opinion and advice, is a single proof, among the many which occur in our early history, of the respect and deference paid to that learned and exemplary body of men.

In a general conference of the commissioners, with the General Court and elders of Massachusetts, the subject was solemnly and fully debated. The elders, having perused the papers and considered the subject deliberately, came to the conclusion ; first, in relation to the injuries received from the Dutch, that they could ‘not discover them to be a sufficient clear ground of war at present ;’ and secondly, in relation to the alleged conspiracy, although they allow the evidence to be of much weight, yet, say they, ‘upon serious and conscientious examination of the proof produced, we cannot find them so fully conclusive, as to clear up present proceedings to war.’ ‘Therefore, we humbly conceive it to be most agreeable to the gospel of peace, which we profess, and safest for these colonies, to forbear the use of the sword, till the Lord, by his providence, and by the wisdom of his servants set over us, shall further clear of his mind, either for our settled peace or most manifest grounds of war ; that we may not proceed doubtfully and so unsafely in so weighty a case. In the mean time, we may comfortably commit ourselves unto the Lord, waiting upon him in a posture of defence and readiness for action, as need shall require, hoping that the Lord will not suffer his people to lose by their tenderness of conscience in being slow to shed blood.’ The General Court came to the resolution, ‘that according to their best apprehension in the case, they do not understand we are called to make a present war with the Dutch.’

A few days after the close of this conference, the General Court of Massachusetts communicated to the commissioners a resolution, which had been adopted by the two houses, in which they maintained that the commissioners had not the power, by the articles of confederation, to determine the justice of an offensive and vindictive war, and to engage the colonies therein. This resolution they defended by a variety of arguments. They contended, that although the article, which defines the powers of the commissioners, taken independently,

might seem to grant them the power of declaring war,—yet, when taken in connexion with several of the other articles, it was manifest that no more could be intended by it, than to give them the power of conducting a war already begun, or into which the colonies might be urged without their voluntary act. It was not intended that the power should be given, unless by special instructions under the seal of the colony. So important an act of authority, involving considerations of moral right and obligation, could not be delegated consistently with the supreme authority, expressly reserved to the colonies individually. They declare it to be ‘an absurdity in policy, that an entire government and jurisdiction should prostitute itself to the command of strangers—a scandal in religion, that a General Court of Christians should be obliged to act and engage upon the faith of six delegates, against their conscience.’ The report of the committee, in which these reasons are enforced, was adopted by both houses of the General Court, and to it the house of delegates subjoined a further argument, which they state in the following formal manner. ‘The case in hand may be considered under a double head ; first, what supreme governours of a commonwealth, in point of confederation with another nation, may do. Secondly, what this government, in reference to the question in hand, hath done. Concerning the first of these, it is to be considered what they may not, nextly, what they may do. Touching the last, first, they are to act all cases not reserved expressly, or impliedly. Concerning the other, they may not act against fundamental laws, or what else the people have reserved to themselves. The next thing is, to consider in some instance, what fundamental laws are.’ They come to the conclusion, that to allow to the commissioners the power of making an offensive war, would be to violate the fundamental law, by which the people of the commonwealth have the right of making immediate choice of the rulers to whom their lives and estates are entrusted.

Soon after receiving this resolution, the commissioners separated, and no further measures were taken by them until their annual meeting in the September following. In the mean time, the general elections,—the time appointed, according to the rumours, for the execution of the plot,—had passed by, and no fatal consequences had ensued.

It is not necessary for us here to go into a discussion of the

merits of this case. It would be sufficient for our purpose, if the ground taken by the Massachusetts government were only plausible enough, to authorize the belief that they acted with good faith and a pure conscience. But we think that their conduct admits of a much more full defence than this. The power claimed by the commissioners, was certainly not given in very express and intelligible terms. It is therefore proper to interpret the words, in which it was supposed to be conveyed, by reference to the general tenor of the instrument. It does not seem very consistent with our present notions of government, that the power of declaring war should be delegated by legislatures,—who expressly reserved to themselves the sovereign authority within their own jurisdictions,—to a board of commissioners, who represented only the governments and not the people of the several colonies, whose resolves were all to be executed by the several legislatures, and who did not constitute so properly a government, as a board of diplomatic agents. There were strong reasons for supposing that the zeal of the smaller colonies, particularly Connecticut and New Haven, for a war against New Netherland, proceeded from no very disinterested motive. They had been in a state of perpetual collision with the Dutch from the commencement of their colonies; and it was exceedingly important to them, that this enemy to their repose should be put out of the way of contesting their title to all they possessed;—for they could not be without apprehensions, lest the title of the Dutch West India Company should at one day or other prove to be as good as theirs to the whole soil of Connecticut. The General Court of Massachusetts, therefore, with much force contended, that to yield to the wishes of the commissioners, would be to give up one of the most important attributes of sovereignty, and to sacrifice the interests of their constituents, with the stain of an unjust war on their consciences.

After the adjournment of the commissioners, the General Court of Massachusetts opened a correspondence with the courts of the other colonies, in which they proposed an amendment and explanation of the articles of confederation. The General Courts of Connecticut and New Haven answered, that in their opinion, the articles needed no explanation, and complained of the Court of Massachusetts for their breach of covenant. A like proposition was made by the General

Court to the commissioners at their next meeting. The commissioners replied, that they neither thought any amendment necessary, nor had power to make it, if they had judged it expedient. After a correspondence between these two bodies, carried on for several days, the commissioners concluded their final communication to the General Court, by proposing, that if they would submit to the interpretation which the commissioners had given to the articles, until they should be otherwise explained by the four colonies, they would proceed in their ordinary business ; otherwise they desired to return to their own homes. The General Court replied, ‘ We see not reason to protract time in fruitless and needless returns : we shall acquiesce in our last paper, and commit the success to God.’ Upon this, the commissioners, by vote, expressed their determination to dissolve the meeting immediately.

By the intercession, however, of the Massachusetts commissioners, the General Court made some explanations ; in consequence of which, the commissioners were induced to remain, to wave the question in dispute, and to proceed in other business. They proceeded amicably in the less important concerns of the colonies, for several days. At length, they came to a resolution,—one of the Massachusetts delegates only dissenting,—to declare war against Ninigrett, the Narraganset sachem, on account of hostilities committed by him against the Long Island Indians, and to raise an army of two hundred and fifty men, two thirds of whom were to be furnished by Massachusetts. This resolve having been submitted to the governour and council of Massachusetts, they replied, that, having considered the reasons for the resolve, they did not perceive sufficient grounds of war either from any obligation to the Long Island Indians, or on account of the treatment received by the messengers sent to the Indians, or from any other motive presented to their consideration, and therefore they dared not to exercise their authority in raising a force to carry on the war against Ninigrett.

The commissioners then proceeded to vote,—six delegates assenting,—that the colonies had just grounds of war against the Dutch at the Manhadoes. They also voted, that the Massachusetts, in refusing to raise men to prosecute the war against Ninigrett, had actually broken their covenant ;—‘ but what damages may hereby grow to the other colonies, they leave to such discoveries as the wise God shall please to make.’

Against this last vote Mr. Bradstreet, one of the commissioners, entered his protest. 'I shall at present,' says he, 'say only this, that I cannot hinder the honoured commissioners from apprehending what they declare, or declaring what they apprehend; so neither do the one or the other make to that be a breach of covenant, which is not so in itself. The colonies are not bound to act in any offensive war, according to the determination of the commissioners, further than the same is just and according to God.'

No further attempt was made by the commissioners to enforce war against the Dutch. No war took place, and no injury followed from the rumoured conspiracy. The Massachusetts commissioners, in the year following, for the sake of harmony, retracted their offensive interpretation of the articles of confederation, and here the controversy ended.

Whatever censure may deservedly fall on the General Court of Massachusetts, for having endeavoured to evade perhaps the strict letter of their obligation, when the general tenor and spirit of the instrument supported their interpretation of it, their conduct cannot have merited the measure of reproach which is heaped upon it, in the passages which we have quoted; nor can it be compared, to their disadvantage, with the inexcusable zeal of those who would have availed themselves of false and wicked rumours, to excite an exterminating war against their weaker neighbours and rivals, whose only offence in this instance appears to have been, endeavouring to conciliate the natives, that they might aid in protecting them against the hostility which they had but too much reason to dread.

We shall here quit this subject, after quoting one or two passages from the history, which may serve as an indication of the temper which prevailed at that time in the minds of the Connecticut people against the Dutch.

'Augustus Harriman, a Dutch trader, with his vessel, was seized by the people of Saybrook, for illicit trade with the Indians. The Court fined him forty pounds, and confiscated his vessel and cargo. They also made him give it in writing, under his hand, that he had been well treated.' p. 194, note.

It is not certain that the severity of their penalties against the use of tobacco, as stated in the following paragraph, ought to be attributed to their strong prejudice against their neigh-

hours at Manhadocs, yet there is some reason for suspecting it.

‘It was ordered, that no person under twenty years of age, nor any other who had not already accustomed himself to use it, should take any tobacco until he had obtained a certificate from under the hand of an approved physician, that it was useful for him, and until he had also obtained a license from the Court. All others who had addicted themselves to the use of it, were prohibited from taking it, in any company, or at their labours, or in travelling, unless ten miles at least from any company; and though not in company, not more than once a day upon pain of a fine of sixpence for every such offence. One substantial witness was to be a sufficient proof of the crime. The constables of the several towns were to make presentment to the particular courts, and it was ordered, that the fine should be paid without gainsaying.’ p. 162.

On the restoration in 1660, Cols. Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges of king Charles I, who had subsequently held the rank of general officers in Cromwell’s army, fled to this country. Ten of their associates had already been condemned and executed as traitors. They were gentlemen of distinguished talents and polished manners, and at Boston and Cambridge,—where they resided and appeared publicly for several months,—they were treated with great attention and universal respect. Finding at length, however, that it would be unsafe for them to remain there, they retired to New Haven, where they were most cordially received and protected. Soon after they left Boston, the royal proclamation was received, ordering them to be arrested. The governour of Massachusetts received a special mandate, ordering him to require that they should be immediately apprehended. A commission was given to two zealous young royalists, with full powers to search for them throughout the colonies, and to arrest them wherever they might be found. They were soon traced to New Haven. The pursuing officers arrived at Guilford, the residence of the governour, where they demanded full powers and assistance to prosecute their search. He detained them until the next morning, and then told them that he could give them no powers until he had consulted his council. In the mean time, he read some of their papers so audibly, that they were overheard by some of his neighbours, who were friendly to the judges, and intelligence of their ob-

ject was despatched to New Haven. The messengers proceeded to New Haven, but the governour followed and kept them in suspense for a long time, by the ceremony of convening his council. After a consultation of five or six hours, the Council dispersed, and the governour told the messengers that he had no authority to do any thing in the case without calling a general assembly of the freemen. They remonstrated, and told the governour he would incur the resentment of the king for concealing and abetting such traitors and regicides. They demanded, ‘whether he and his council would own and honour his majesty.’ The governour replied, ‘We do honour his majesty, but have tender consciences, and wish first to know whether he will own us.’ The messengers proceeded to search the houses of the citizens of New Haven, and the judges made their escape from house to house, without being discovered. They at length entered the house of one Mrs. Eyers, where the judges actually were; but she received them with such address as to make them believe, that they had just made their escape from the house, and in consequence no search was made. The messengers were obliged to return without accomplishing their object, and the judges remained concealed in the colony for several years. Their history is fully recorded in the well known account of them written by President Stiles.

The people of New Haven were more firm in their republican principles than the inhabitants of any of the other colonies. They neglected to proclaim king Charles II, until they were severely complained of, and they dared to delay it no longer. They then acknowledged him in a very ungracious manner, assigning their ignorance of the proper form, as the cause of their delay and of their singular style of doing it.

But the Connecticut colony, soon after the restoration, sent Mr. Winthrop, son of Governour Winthrop of Massachusetts, to England with a humble petition to the king, in which they solicited a charter under the royal signature. They say, that ‘by reason of the calamities of the late sad times,’ they have had no opportunity to seek for a patent from their sovereign lord and king, and they preferred rather to content themselves without any, ‘in those afflicting times, than to seek for power or privileges from any other than their lawful prince and sovereign.’ Mr. Winthrop was a gentleman of

fine talents and address, and he succeeded in engaging in his interest several gentlemen of influence at court. He was also possessed of a remarkable ring, which had been given by Charles I, to his grandfather ; this, on his audience with the king, he presented to his majesty, and thereby gained his favourable attention. On the 20th of April, 1662, he obtained from the king a patent under the great seal of England, granting the most ample privileges, and confirming to the freemen of the Connecticut colony, and such as should be admitted freemen, all the lands which had been formerly granted to the Earl of Warwick, and by him transferred to Lord Say and Seal, and his associates. This charter established over the colony a form of government of the most popular kind, and provided for the annual choice of a governour, deputy governour, and twelve assistants, who, with delegates not exceeding two from each town, were to form a general assembly, to meet twice in every year, and were invested with the powers of government. This charter was the fundamental law of Connecticut for the space of a hundred and fifty eight years ; and it is remarkable, that although it was granted at a period of the world when the rights of the people were little understood and little regarded, and by a sovereign who governed England with a more arbitrary sway than any of his successors, the form of government established by this charter was of a more popular description, and placed all power within the more immediate reach of the people, than the constitution for which it has been deliberately exchanged, in these modern days of popular jealousy and republican freedom.

The people and territory of New Haven were included within this new charter of Connecticut. This colony, although originally established under more favourable auspices, proved much less fortunate than her elder sister. The people were among the most wealthy of the early planters, and they began their settlement with the prospect of improving their fortunes by trade. These hopes were early cut off, as thus related by their historian.

‘ New Haven having been exceedingly disappointed in trade, and sustained great damages at Delaware, and the large estates which they brought into New England declining, this year made uncommon exertions, as far as possible to retrieve their former losses. Combining their money and labours, they built a ship, at Rhode Island, of a hundred and fifty tons ; and freighted her

for England, with the best part of their commercial estates. Mr. Gregson, Capt. Turner, Mr. Lamberton, and five or six of their principal men embarked on board. They sailed from New Haven in January, 1647. They were obliged to cut through the ice, to get out of the harbour. The ship foundered at sea, and was never heard of after she sailed. The loss of this ship, with the former losses which the company had sustained, broke up all their expectations with respect to trade, and as they conceived themselves disadvantageously situated for husbandry, they adopted the design of leaving the country. They were invited to Jamaica in the West Indies. They had also an invitation to Ireland. It seems they entered into treaties for the city of Galloway, which they designed to have settled, as a small province for themselves. Nevertheless they were disappointed with respect to all these designs.' p. 161.

They, however, on turning their attention to agriculture, seem to have recovered from their despondency, and to have been nearly as prosperous as their neighbours. They were a little more strict in their discipline than either of the other colonies, and for this reason they appear to have placed a peculiar value on the right of self-government. It was therefore with great reluctance that they consented to become incorporated with Connecticut. They resisted by all means in their power, for the space of three years; but at length submitted through necessity, all privileges being guarantied to them which were enjoyed by the people with whom they were associated.

Their submission to this measure was hastened by an event which at this time spread an alarm throughout the New England colonies. On the 12th of March, 1664, king Charles II gave to his brother, the Duke of York and Albany, a patent of certain territories in America, in which were included the lands from the west side of Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware bay. A fleet was immediately despatched for the reduction of the Dutch at the New Netherlands, and commissioners were appointed for taking possession of the newly granted territories, in which were embraced the whole of New Haven, and a large portion of Connecticut. They were not only entrusted with the government of this territory, but were also invested with extraordinary powers for visiting the New England colonies, and hearing all matters of complaint and controversy which might arise in them. The people of New Haven, on hearing of the arbitrary disposition

of these commissioners, thought it expedient, as the least of two evils, to shelter themselves under the Connecticut charter, and to unite with that colony in endeavouring to secure the privileges granted by it. Mr. Winthrop and others,—a committee appointed for the purpose,—succeeded in obtaining from the commissioners the establishment of the eastern line of New York, nearly where it runs at the present day, and thus preserved the colony from being dismembered of the richest, and most populous section of its territory.

But in 1674, the Duke of York took out a new patent of his possessions, in which the boundaries were described in the same terms as in the former. He appointed Major Andross,—afterwards the notorious Sir Edmund Andross,—governour of New York, and all his territories in those parts. This obsequious agent,—disregarding the priority of the Connecticut patent as well as the decision of the royal commissioners ten years before,—claimed as a part of the Duke's grant all that part of the colony which lay west of the Connecticut river, and threatened to take it by force. On the 9th of July, while a large part of the militia were absent in prosecuting the Indian war against Philip, Andross appeared in the mouth of the river, with an armed force to invade the colony. The fort at Saybrook was immediately manned by a few of the neighbouring militia, and these were soon reinforced by a party under Capt. Bull from Hartford. The assembly, who were in session, voted a pointed protest against the conduct of Andross, which they despatched to Capt. Bull, with instructions to propose to Andross to refer the question of title to Commissioners. For what followed, we quote Dr. Trumbull.

‘On the 11th, Major Andross, with several armed sloops drew up before the fort, hoisted the king's flag on board, and demanded a surrender of the fortress and town. Capt. Bull raised his majesty's colours in the fort, and arranged his men in the best manner. They appeared with a good countenance, determined and eager for action. The major did not like to fire on the king's colours, and perceiving, that should he attempt to reduce the town by force, it would be a bloody affair, judged it expedient not to fire upon the troops. He nevertheless lay all that day, and part of the next, off against the fort.’ p. 328.

‘Early in the morning of the 12th of July, the major desired that he might have admittance on shore, and an interview with the ministers and chief officers. He probably imagined that if he

could read the duke's patent and his own commission, it would make an impression upon the people, and that he should gain by art, that which he could not by force of arms. He was allowed to come on shore, with his suite. Meanwhile, the express arrived with the protest, and instructions from the assembly. Captain Bull and his officers, with the officers and gentlemen of the town, met the major, at his landing, and acquainted him that they had, at that instant, received instructions to tender him a treaty, and to refer the whole matter in controversy to commissioners, capable of determining it according to law and justice. The major rejected the proposal, and forthwith commanded in his majesty's name, that the duke's patent, and the commission which he had received from his royal highness, should be read. Captain Bull commanded him, in his majesty's name, to forbear reading. When his clerk attempted to persist in reading, the captain repeated his command, with such energy of voice and manner, as convinced the major it was not safe to proceed. The captain then acquainted him that he had an address from the assembly to him, and read the protest. Governour Andross, pleased with his bold and soldier like appearance, said, 'What is your name?' He replied, 'My name is Bull, sir.' 'Bull!' said the governour, 'It is a pity that your horns are not tipped with silver.' Finding that he could make no impression upon the officers or people, and that the legislature of the colony were determined to defend themselves, in the possession of their chartered rights, he gave up his design of seizing the fort. He represented the protest as a slender affair, and an ill requital of his kindness. He said, however, he should do no more. The militia of the town guarded him to his boat, and going on board he soon sailed for Long Island.' p. 330.

Connecticut was destined to suffer, with the rest of the colonies, from the violent acts committed in the last years of the reign of the Stuarts. Massachusetts had been deprived of her charter, and Rhode Island had been induced to surrender hers, when in July, 1685, a writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the governour and company of Connecticut. The day of appearance was past, before the writ was received by the governour. A second and a third were issued; but the governour and assembly determined neither to appear to defend their charter, nor voluntarily to surrender it, according to the advice of the time-serving politicians of the day. In December, 1686, Sir Edmund Andross arrived at Boston, with a commission to act as governour of New England. He was a

fit representative of the royal authority of that day, and was the object of terror and hatred throughout his whole government. He made several applications to the governour and assembly of Connecticut, for the surrender of their charter, but without success. They constantly referred him to the promises of king James and of his royal brother, to defend them in the enjoyment of their estates and privileges.

‘The assembly met, as usual, in October, [1687] and the government continued, according to charter, until the last of the month. About this time, Sir Edmund, with his suite, and more than sixty regular troops, came to Hartford, where the assembly were sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it to be dissolved. The assembly were extremely reluctant and slow with respect to any resolve to surrender the charter, or with respect to any motion to bring it forth. The tradition is, that Governor Treat strongly represented the great expense and hardships of the colonists, in planting the country; the blood and treasure which they had expended in defending it, both against the savages and foreigners; to what hardships and dangers he himself had been exposed for that purpose; and that it was like giving up his life, now to surrender the patent and privileges, so dearly bought, and so long enjoyed. The important affair was debated and kept in suspense, until the evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table, where the assembly were sitting. By this time, great numbers of people were assembled, and men sufficiently bold to enterprise, whatever might be necessary or expedient. The lights were instantly extinguished, and one captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, in the most silent and secret manner, carried off the charter, and secreted it in a large hollow tree, fronting the house of the Hon. Samuel Wyllys, then one of the magistrates of the colony. The people appeared all peaceable and orderly. The candles were officiously re-lighted, but the patent was gone, and no discovery could be made of it, or of the person who had conveyed it away. Sir Edmund assumed the government, and the records of the colony were closed in the following words:

“At a general court at Hartford, October 31st 1687, his Excellency, Sir Edmund Andross, knight, and captain-general and governor of his majesty’s territories and dominions in New England, by order from his majesty James the second, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, the 31st of October, 1687, took into his hands the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being, by his majesty, annexed to Massachusetts, and other colonies under his Excellency’s government. FINIS.” pp. 371, 372.

The administration of Andross in all the colonies was most arbitrary and oppressive. He dispensed with the services of the elective assemblies, appointed all officers, civil and military, levied taxes at pleasure, put the press under the censorship of one of the most infamous of his creatures, restricted marriages by requiring oppressive bonds, and prohibiting the joining in wedlock by clergymen, undermined all titles to real property, and confiscated estates without number, fined and imprisoned individuals at pleasure, and committed every description of acts of extortion and arbitrary power. But the glorious and happy revolution of 1688 put an end to his career. The intelligence of that event did not reach New England until the April following, and it was received with the sincerest joy and exultation. A gentleman from Virginia, who brought the intelligence, with a copy of the Prince of Orange's declaration, was arrested and imprisoned, 'for bringing a traitorous and treasonable libel into the country.' Two days after, however, the people of Boston and its vicinity rose in arms, seized Andross and about fifty of his adherents, put them into confinement, and compelled the old governour and magistrates to resume the government. Andross was imprisoned until February following, when he was sent to England. In Connecticut, the old government and laws under the charter were entirely re-instated, after an interruption of only nineteen months.

In the year 1692, another attempt was made to invade the charter privileges of the colony. Colonel Fletcher, governour of New York, received from the king a commission, giving him full power to command the whole militia of Connecticut and the neighbouring provinces. He made application to the governour, requiring that the militia should be expressly placed under his command. This demand was not readily complied with, as it was urged that the right to command their own militia was expressly secured to them by charter.

'On the 26th of October, he came to Hartford, while the assembly were sitting, and in his majesty's name demanded their submission of the militia to his command, as they would answer to his majesty; and that they would give him a speedy answer in one word, Yes, or No. He subscribed himself his majesty's lieutenant and commander in chief of the militia, and of all the forces by sea or land, and of all the forts and places of strength

in the colony of Connecticut. He ordered the militia of Hartford under arms, that he might beat up for volunteers. It was judged expedient to call the trainbands in Hartford together; but the assembly insisted, that the command of the militia was expressly vested, by charter, in the governour and company; and that they could, by no means, consistently with their just rights and the common safety, resign it into any other hands. They insinuated, that his demands were an invasion of their essential privileges, and subversive of their constitution.

‘Upon this, Colonel Bayard, by his Excellency’s command, sent a letter into the assembly, declaring, that his Excellency had no design upon the civil rights of the colony: but would leave them in all respects, as he found them. In the name of his Excellency, he tendered a commission to Governor Treat, empowering him to command the militia of the colony. He declared, that his Excellency insisted, that they should acknowledge it an essential right, inherent in his majesty, to command the militia: and that he was determined not to set his foot out of the colony until he had seen his Majesty’s commission obeyed: That he would issue his proclamation, showing the means he had taken to give ease and satisfaction to his majesty’s subjects of Connecticut, and that he would distinguish the disloyal from the rest. The assembly, nevertheless, would not give up the command of the militia: nor would Governor Treat receive a commission from Colonel Fletcher.

‘The trainbands of Hartford assembled, and, as the tradition is, while Capt. Wadsworth, the senior officer, was walking in front of the companies, and exercising the soldiers, Col. Fletcher ordered his commission and instructions to be read. Capt. Wadsworth instantly commanded,—“Beat the drums;”—and there was such a roaring of them that nothing else could be heard. Col. Fletcher commanded silence. But no sooner had Bayard made an attempt to read, than Wadsworth commands,—“Drum, drum, I say.”—The drummers understood their business, and instantly beat up with all the art and life of which they were masters.—“Silence, silence,”—says the colonel. No sooner was there a pause, than Wadsworth speaks with great earnestness,—“Drum, drum, I say,”—and turning to his Excellency, said,—“If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment.” He spoke with such energy in his voice, and meaning in his countenance, that no further attempts were made to read, or enlist men. Such numbers of people collected together, and their spirits appeared so high, that the governor and his suite judged it expedient soon to leave town and return to New York.’ pp. 392, 393.

The assembly sent a special agent to England to petition the king on the subject, and after a full hearing it was ordered, that one hundred and twenty men should be placed under the command of Col. Fletcher for the prosecution of the war, and that the rest of the militia should remain under command of the governour of Connecticut. The people of Connecticut were obliged afterwards, several times, to make great exertions in defence of their charter, but they succeeded in repelling all attempts to wrest it from them, and it remained the palladium of their liberties, until they were acknowledged an independent state. At the commencement of the revolution, they were the only colony which enjoyed the privilege of electing their own governour, and the appointment of all civil and military officers.

The narratives of Philip's war, which abounded in tragical events, and threatened the very existence of the New England colonies,—of the four expeditions against Canada, undertaken with great zeal by the colonies in 1690, 1709, 1711, and 1759, (the three first of which, although prosecuted with vigour, were entirely unsuccessful),—of the two successful enterprizes against Louisburgh, as well as those against Port Royal and Porto Bello,—and of various other important events, we are obliged to pass over without notice.

In the year 1700, Yale College was founded. The project had been the subject of conversation for the space of two years, and at length eleven gentlemen, who had been agreed on as trustees, assembled at Branford, and laid the foundation of the college in the following manner.

‘ Each gentleman gave a number of books, and laying them upon a table, pronounced words to this effect,—“ I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony.” About forty volumes in folio were thus given.’ p. 473.

In the year following, the trustees obtained from the General Assembly an act of incorporation, and a grant of one hundred and twenty pounds annually. The members of the corporation were to be all clergymen, and all over forty years of age. The Rev. Abraham Pierson was, in the same year, appointed rector of the college, and a tutor was also appointed. Eight students were immediately admitted—a part of them to an advanced standing. The first commencement was at Saybrook in 1702. The college was first fixed at

Saybrook, but the rector being reluctant to leave his pastoral charge in Killingworth, it was ordered that the scholars should be instructed at or near his house. On his death in 1707, the senior class were removed to Milford,—that they might be under the immediate instruction of the new rector, who resided there,—and the other students to Saybrook, where they were under the instruction of two tutors. This state of the college, which continued until the year 1716, gave great dissatisfaction. In April of this year, in consequence of the uneasiness among the scholars, the trustees gave them leave to pursue their studies in what place they chose, until commencement. In the next year, it was voted by the trustees to fix the college at New Haven, partly in consequence of the liberal donations which were offered from that town. This decision was violently opposed by a part of the trustees, and by many of the people. A part of the students refused to go there; and on the day, on which the first commencement was celebrated at New Haven, a commencement was also holden at Weathersfield, under the sanction of two of the trustees, and five scholars performed public exercises there, and received degrees from one of the trustees, who presided. At the time of the first commencement at New Haven, the institution was named Yale College, from Governor Yale, who,—from the year 1714 to the time of his death, seven years after,—made several valuable donations to it. Soon after the removal to New Haven, the number of students increased to forty, and in the year 1719, the Rev. Timothy Cutler was chosen to be resident rector.

‘Rector Cutler was popular, acceptable to the legislature and the clergy, and the students were quiet under his instructions and government. The college appeared now to be firmly established, and in a flourishing and happy state. But, from a quarter entirely unexpected, it suffered a sudden and great change. At the commencement, [1722] it was discovered that the Rector and Mr. Brown, one of the tutors, had embraced episcopacy, and that they and two of the neighbouring ministers,—Mr. Johnson of West Haven, and Mr. Wetmore of North-Haven,—had agreed to renounce the communion of the churches in Connecticut, and to take a voyage to England, and receive episcopal ordination. Scarcely any thing could have been more surprizing to the trustees, or the people in general, as they had no suspicions that the rector was inclining to episcopacy, as there was no Episcopalian

minister fixed in the colony, and as very few of the laity were inclined to that persuasion.' vol ii. p. 33.

Upon this surprising discovery, Governour Saltonstall, who was well versed in the episcopal controversy, publicly discussed the subject, and disputed it with Mr. Cutler, on commencement day, to the great satisfaction of the people. The rector and tutor were dismissed from their offices in the college, and the two clergymen from their respective pastoral charges. These four gentlemen went to England, where they received holy orders. It was supposed, that several other clergymen had conceived the design of declaring for episcopacy; but on seeing the fate of their brethren, they desisted from it. After this event, the trustees officiated in the office of rector, by turns, for the space of four years,—each residing at the college a month at a time. From the expiration of that period, a permanent rector was appointed. Mr. Williams filled the office thirteen years, and in 1640, the year after his resignation, Mr. Clapp was appointed to succeed him. In 1645 the trustees obtained a new charter, and were incorporated by the name of 'The President and Fellows of Yale College in New Haven.'

About a third part of these volumes is devoted to the ecclesiastical history of Connecticut—a fruitful and interesting subject. On this part of the work, which of itself would afford matter for an entire article, we have not been able to touch. The long chapter on religious revivals and their consequences, is a very remarkable piece of history, and will be read with quite different feelings by persons of different opinions on the subject. We regret that we cannot appropriate to it a few remarks, but it is time for us to draw towards a close.

It is proper here to correct a material error, which occurs in the title page of the work. It is there stated, that the original patent of New England contained in the Appendix to the first volume, was never before published in America. This is a mistake. The reader will find it in the first volume of Hazard's Historical Collections, published at Philadelphia in the year 1792, beginning at page 103. It is there certified by the clerk of the rolls, to be a true copy from the original record, remaining in the Chapel of the Rolls. There are some verbal differences between the two copies, but they are not material.

The style and language of this work are often inelegant and incorrect. Words are frequently used in a sense not authorized by standard authors, and, if we mistake not, sometimes in a sense in which their use is peculiar to the people of Connecticut. But we have no disposition to make these faults the subject of criticism. There is a vigour and spirit in the style, which in some measure compensates for these defects. In the narration, the author is almost always clear, and unaffected, and in description he is often peculiarly happy in the life and distinctness of his pictures.

But it is not by the style of writing that a work of this sort should be tested. It would have been a matter of regret, had the author employed a single moment in polishing a period, or pruning a metaphor, which it was in his power to devote to successful researches. His style is that of his countrymen at the time he was educated. He has furnished a record of the virtues and sufferings of the founders of his native state, which will always be regarded as a work of substantial merit, and uncommon interest. We recommend it most confidently to the public attention, as one of the best works of the kind published in this country, and wish that the remarks we have made upon particular passages, may not be considered as detracting, in the least, from its general merits, or shake the faith of the reader in its general accuracy. We hope that the author may enjoy, in the evening of his days, the best of temporal rewards for the labours of a long life,—the consciousness of having rendered an essential service to his country.



ART. V.—*Women ; or, Pour et Contre. A Tale, by the author of Bertram, &c.* 3 vols. Edinburgh, 1818.

THIS tale has a very recent date, and is connected with events that had hardly ceased to be the news of the day while the author was writing. He intimates in his preface, that he had committed an error in his former works, by placing his scenes and conceiving his characters at too great a distance from experience ;—in this, accordingly, he comes nearer to the affairs and habits of life, and blends his fiction with facts that are fresh in the reader's memory.—Zaira, the principal personage, an imitation of Corinne, and a copy in some respects, it is said, of Madame Catalani,—is the natural